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# Modern Philology

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## THE FOUNTAIN DEFENDED

### II

Por la costume maintenir

De vostre fontainne deffandre.—*Yvain*, vss. 1848 ff.

In discussing the sources of the *Yvain*<sup>1</sup> the testimony of the text is of prime importance. This seems obvious. Yet glancing through the rather heated discussion of Crestien's poem one realizes that the principle is not always followed. Theoretically the commentators may be agreed that the fountain episode "constitutes<sup>2</sup> the distinctive element of the romance," but we know that in practice the fairy-mistress (Laudine is a water-nymph, argues Brown,<sup>3</sup> "simply because she happens to be a fée") and the *wetterwendisches weib* ("Laudine ist keine Fee," Foerster, 3d ed., 1906, p. xlvii) have in turn been holding the boards. Crestien's material is one thing, and his thought or interpretation, like any poet's, is another. The commentator, while keeping both points of view in mind, must distinguish between them. For Crestien's material, if it had a coherent form, and that seems possible, had a meaning of its own.

It is possible, as Foerster has pointed out, that Crestien's intent in writing the *Yvain* was to hold up to scorn the disdainful lady of his day, the very person whom in the *Lancelot* he was probably

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Foerster, 3d ed., p. v, n. 2: "deutsch also *Iwain*."

<sup>2</sup> See *Modern Philology*, VI, pp. 331 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Iwain, a Study*, p. 22.

compelled to exalt. We may say Crestien applies to French court life the dialectics of the schoolmen: they expound the dogma of religion, he expounds the dogma of social conduct—a different subject but the same method. *Cligés*, the romance of Crestien's which we know best, is an attempt to make a romantic love conform to a social standard of correct behavior.<sup>1</sup> Crestien is mediaeval to the core; to this fact his other works bear testimony, and his treatment is singularly literal. He may be inventive, to a certain degree, yet he is certainly not imaginative. But this is not, as I have indicated, the problem that concerns us. We are attempting to discover—from his text—the character of the material he employed. Did his material have a coherent form before it came into his hands? If so, what was its theme? For on the latter question much more depends than on matters of detail, such, for example, whether the fountain of the *Yvain* has descriptive traits which class it with other Celtic fountains;<sup>2</sup> for Celtic the *Yvain* fountain is perforce, inasmuch as it is the fountain of Bérenton and that lies in Celtic territory.

In 1905,<sup>3</sup> I ventured to identify the theme of the *conte* which has here been spun into a romance with that of the Arician Diana myth. I need not retrace my steps here except to repeat the words<sup>4</sup> in which I summed up my theory. I said: "It is clear that the *conte* on which Crestien drew represented a version of the Italic Diana myth. And should this inference prove too far-sweeping, it is at least probable that the source itself was a fusion of this theme with one of Celtic origin." And, in referring to the details of the fountain episode (not the mere description of the fountain): these "details probably point to an undercurrent of folk-tale, of the kind embodied in the Diana myth."<sup>5</sup> The weak point in my argument doubtless was the emphasis laid on the parallelism of the names, since it was evident to me then,<sup>6</sup> as it is now, that there

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Van Hamel, *Romania*, XXXIV (1904), p. 472 and *passim*; also my first article, *Modern Philology*, III, p. 267. But I do not wish to imply that Crestien had a deeply moral purpose: his ideas were those of the circles he frequented.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Modern Philology*, VI, pp. 332 ff.

<sup>3</sup> My previous article in *Modern Philology*, III, pp. 269-80.

<sup>4</sup> For misquotations see below.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 275.

<sup>6</sup> "Should not Laudine be a perverted form of *La diane*," *op. cit.*, p. 277.

are phonetic reasons against deriving Laudine < La Diane. At the time, however, what I wished to prove was that the romance is fundamentally a fountain-myth, originating in a fountain-cult, and that its connection with the fairy-mistress theme of the *Serglige-Conculaind* type is secondary, perhaps, indeed, carried over from the source of one of Crestien's other stories. In this respect my opinion is unchanged, and the material I shall now adduce is in support of this view. But I never affirmed, as has recently been said,<sup>1</sup> that the fountain-episode is "a direct survival of the Arician myth of Diana," nor did I harbor the thought that "Crestien took his material from this myth."

At the outset the question arises whether Laudine is originally a water-goddess, as Baist affirms, *eine Wasserfrau*.<sup>2</sup> If she is, then there is an inherent probability that the *Yvain* is a development of a fountain-deity cult. This, we remember, was the point of departure of Ahlström, who thought that the fountain and the lady are inseparable, and that Laudine belongs to the swan-maiden type.<sup>3</sup> The view is stoutly opposed by Brown<sup>4</sup> and by Foerster, by the former with the fairy-mistress hypothesis, and by the latter in the following words:<sup>5</sup>

Gerade die Tatsache, dass nach der erreichten Verbindung der beiden [Laudine and Yvain] von der Quelle nie mehr die Rede ist, dass Laudine, die den Yvain nur geheirathet hat, um einen Beschützer zu finden, ihn sofort ziehen lässt und an die wiederum mindestens auf ein Jahr ungeschirmte Quelle gar nicht mehr denkt, zeigt, dass die Quelle ein ganz fremdes Einschiebsel ist, und dass zwischen ihr und Laudine kein wie immer beschaffener Zusammenhang besteht.

The weakness of Brown's argument *on this particular point* I have tried to show elsewhere,<sup>6</sup> and I need not repeat here. As regards Foerster's statement, the words *von der Quelle nie mehr die Rede ist* are not to be taken too literally, for in vss. 6595 ff. we read:

Qu'an aus n'ai je nule atandue,  
Que ja par aus soit deffandue  
La fontaine ne li perrons.

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Philology*, VI, p. 331.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeit. f. rom. Philologie*, XXI, pp. 402-5.

<sup>3</sup> *Mélanges Wahlund*, 1896, pp. 294-303.

<sup>4</sup> *Ivain*, pp. 20 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Third ed., p. xxiv, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Modern Language Notes*, XIX, pp. 80-85; *Modern Philology*, III, p. 269.

Furthermore, Laudine had previously shown ample concern about the defense of her fountain:

Qu'ele estoit an grant cusançon  
De sa fontainne garantir.—Vss. 1736 ff.  
Et oserieez vos anprendre  
Por moi ma fontainne a deffandre?—Vss. 2034 ff.

And Lunete especially cautions her mistress:

Por la costume maintenir  
De vostre fontainne deffandre,  
Vos covandroit buen consoil prandre.—Vss. 1848 ff.

On the basis of these passages I previously remarked:<sup>1</sup> "This function, the *defense* of the Fountain, is the essential point in the whole tale." I also called attention to the fact that Crestien differentiates the visits of Calogrenant and Arthur<sup>2</sup> from that of Yvain by dwelling on the date and hour of their arrival, and by having Arthur go from Carduel direct, through the summons of the Dameisele Sauvage, instead of visiting the Hospitable Host and the Giant Herdsman on the way. In addition to the general situation (manner of defense, succession of defenders, etc.), various details led me to suppose that the defense was concerned ultimately with the protection of the tree-spirit, a fire- and rain-making divinity, such as Frazer had shown the Arician goddess to be. But leaving aside the last consideration for the present, the testimony of the text alone would show that Laudine requires Yvain primarily as a protector of her fountain, with which her welfare is thus somehow connected. For this reason I believe that Baist is right in assuming that Laudine represents a water-goddess—if not in name, then at least in function.

Now the striking thing about the parallels to Crestien's fountain which have been adduced from Celtic sources is that however like it they be in certain details, only one of them, the Irish *Gilla Decair*,<sup>3</sup> involves the defense of the fountain by a living being. To this particular parallel I shall return below.<sup>4</sup> The other mediaeval

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 273.

<sup>2</sup> On the occasion of Arthur's visit the text again brings out the feature of the defense, in vss. 2220 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Iwain*, p. 104.

<sup>4</sup> This tale is again summarized by Miss Morgan but without any reference to Mr. Brown's previous summary. Other references, as Brown states, had been made by Macbain, *Celtic*

parallèles either lack the *perron* which plays so important a part in the *Yvain* or they can readily be explained—one only has to consult Foerster (3d ed., pp. xxv–xxxi)—as varying accounts of the self-same fountain to which our romance refers. Jacques de Vitry (*Historia orientalis*, XCI), Giraldus Cambrensis (Rolls series, V, p. 89) refer to Brittany by name; Guillaume le Breton (*Philippis*, VI, 445) speaks of *Breceliacensis*, which from the context is almost surely Broceliande, and Thomas Cantapranus is not, as Miss Morgan fancies, referring to Great Britain but to Brittany: Thomas calls<sup>1</sup> England *Anglia* and the *illis in partibus* where history tells us Richard waged war is *Brittania* or *Armorica*. Alexander Neckam,<sup>2</sup> who describes the fountain on hearsay, does not localize it.

There is, however, a neglected parallel to the characteristic trait of the Armorican fountain which brings the sudden-storm into connection with a nature divinity. Before mentioning it, it may be well to restate the traits of our fountain which have seemed to scholars to be essential:

a) The fountain has next to it a *perron* or a slab of stone:<sup>3</sup>

Li perrons est d' une esmeraude,  
 Perciez aussi come une boz,  
 S'i ot quatre rubiz dessoz  
 Plus flanboianz et plus vermauz,  
 Que n'est au matin li solauz  
 Quant il apert en oriant.<sup>4</sup>—Vss. 424 ff.

*Magazine*, IX, p. 278; Alfred Nutt, *ibid.*, XII, p. 555; Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 187 ff., and F. Lot, *Romania*, XXI, pp. 67 ff. Brown also gives the Giraldus Cambrensis reference, *Topogr. Hiberniae*, disc. ii, chap. 7, to the fountain in Munster; and Lady Guest in the *Mabinogion*, I, p. 226, mentions the Snowdon tale in Wales where the *perron* is called the "red altar." But, in addition to Miss Morgan's references, Brown refers to J. M. MacKinlay, *Folklore of the Scottish Lochs*, p. 222, for an account of a blue stone (the *perron*) near Skye on which water was poured to procure rain; cf. note, below, on the "rain-stone."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Foerster, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *De naturis rerum*, II, chap. vii.

<sup>3</sup> In Thomas a kind of dolmen; cf. Foerster<sup>3</sup>, p. xxix.

<sup>4</sup> Of course the *perron* is the well known "rain-stone," cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup>, I, p. 109 (the University of California library does not yet possess the third edition of Frazer). This is merely one of many ways resorted to by sympathetic magic in order to bring on rainfall. There is not room here to review the question adequately; see O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie*, § 263, "Steinfetische;" Le P. Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*, Paris, 1903, chap. v. § 4: "les pierres sacrées (bétyles);" Faruelli, *Cults of the Greek States*, I, pp. 45, 46 (a reference I owe to Dr. G. L. Hamilton). With the growth of demonology arose the idea that the stone was inhabited by a demon, whose acts might be unfriendly to man; cf. Gruppe, p. 775. Hence the "injurious storm" as in the *Yvain*, a similar one being found in

In Crestien the fountain is shaded by a tree:

Bien sai de l'arbre, c'est la fins,  
Que ce estoit li plus biaux pins  
Qui onques sor terre creüst.—Vss. 413 ff.

This tree is *not* found in the other accounts, whence Kölbing<sup>1</sup> argued that it is an addition derived from the Brendan legend.

b) Water from the fountain is poured on this *perron*, by means of a cup<sup>2</sup> hanging from the tree.

c) A sudden, violent storm thereupon takes place.<sup>3</sup>

Thus it is clear that what really produces the storm is not a disturbance of the fountain, but water being poured upon the stone slab by its side (from a cup which had been hanging on the tree nearby). Under the heading of Juppiter Elicius, commonly

*Perlesvaus* (Potvin, I, p. 90) after Gawain's failure at the Grail Castle. Mr. Hamilton calls my attention to the fact that among the Mongols the magic stone was thus used to the detriment of one's enemies; in somewhat like manner, the heliotrope (cf. Crestien's *esmeralde*) in the mediaeval lapidaries; see P. Meyer, *Romania*, XXXVIII (1909), p. 68:

Oez l'assens del Yotrophie  
Ke tute gent ne sevent mie.  
D' *esmeralde* après la colur,  
N'a pas meismes la valur;  
Estencelée est de gutes vermailles.  
Ore escutez ci granz merveilles:  
Ky cele pere en eawe met,  
En un bon vessel bel e net,  
E tut si en rai du solail,  
Il devandra trestut vermail;  
Tut ert coloré come sanc,  
Ja tant n'ert beals ne cler ne blanc,  
Si ke tuz ceus le verunt  
*A eclypse le jugerunt*;  
E l' eawe en vaissel ou gerra,  
Sachez ke tot boillir fera,  
E f[e]ra par l' eir *tenebror*  
*E tantost ploveir par entor*.  
Ki la porte pot deviner  
Plusurs choses, si l' ad mester.  
Mut fet home de bone fame  
E viouge en maint reaume. (The italics are mine.)

For an account of how the eastern islanders make rain by means of a stone image, called *doiom*, which can be employed magically against enemies see *Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, 1908, VI, pp. 194, 234.

But distinct from the rain-stone, at least originally, are the numerous Celtic "inundation" stories cited by Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, chap. vii, in which an irate deity is also concerned.

Professor Hugo Schilling has called to my notice that Hartmann v. Aue reads:

Und ob dem brunne stët ein  
harte zierlicher stein (vss. 581-82);

whereas Crestien has:

Lez la fontaine troveras  
Un perron tel, con tu verras.  
—vss. 390, 391.

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, XI, pp. 442-48. Cf. below. I now think the tree is part of the theme.

<sup>2</sup> Vs. 438.

<sup>3</sup> The "boiling" of the fountain, vs. 380, I have previously mentioned; cf. *Modern Philology*, III, p. 274.

associated by the poets with Juppiter Fulgator, Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexicon*<sup>1</sup> mentions the following:

Es bestand nun zu Rom, wo in folge langanhaltender Dürre (Nissen, *Italische Landeskulte*, I, s. 375, 379) nicht selten Wassermangel herrschte, ein eigenartiger Brauch, um den ersetzten Regen dem Himmel zu entlocken. *Paul*, s. 128. *manalem vocabant lapidem etiam petram quandam quae est extra portem Capenam iuxta aedem Martis, quam cum propter nimiam siccitatem in urbem pertraherent insequeretur pluvia statim eumque quod aquas manarent, manalem lapidem dicerunt*. Der echt römische Ritus der Prozession spricht für ihr hohes Alter. Die Pontifices besorgen die Opferhandlungen (Varro b. *Non.*, s. 547) und ziehen selber den Stein (Serv. *ad Aen.*, 3, 175), es folgen ihnen barfüssig mit aufgelöstem Haar die Matronen (Petron. 44) und die Magistrate ohne die Abzeichen ihres Amtes (Tertull. *de ieiun.* 16). Der Stein sei, schliesst Gilbert, *Gesch. u. Top. Roms*, 2. s. 154 a. 1 aus Nonius und Paulus a. a. O., in Form eines *urceolus*, eines Kruges, ausgehöhlt gewesen und aus dieser Höhlung sei Wasser vergossen worden, "offenbar zu dem Zwecke, um durch diese dramatische Wiedergabe des Regens diesen selbst in natura gleichsam aus dem Himmel d. i. Juppiter herauszulocken." . . . Das *Aquaelicism* [bildet] den ganzen Inhalt des Dienstes.<sup>2</sup>

It is to be noted also that in *Juppiter* as in *Diana*, the basic root is Indo-Ger. *di- div-*, "glänzen" or "leuchten," and that the god incarnates the creative power in nature: "Auf die Fruchtbarkeit von Menschen u. Tieren, auf das Gedeihen der Saaten und Felder erstreckt sich sein Wirken." Thus we have another link<sup>3</sup> in the chain of probability that the *Yvain* embodies a nature cult.

In Gaul the cult of a river- or fountain-deity was probably once general. The frequent occurrence of river names in *div-* is striking: *La Dive*, *La Duis*, *La Dianna*, *La Devona*, *L'Andiole*, etc.<sup>4</sup> The fountain of Bordeaux, celebrated by Ausonius under the name of "*Divōnā*," was said by him to signify *Celtarum lingua*, *fons addite divis*, and he himself invokes it as *sacer*, *alme*, *perennis*, *urbis genius*,<sup>5</sup> etc. Lake Andéol, at the foot of Mt. Helanus in

<sup>1</sup> II, 657.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gruppe, *op. cit.*, pp. 726, n. 2, 1524, and the references cited above.

<sup>3</sup> For others see *Modern Philology*, III, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> See below. Cf. also a few river-names in Great Britain: the Dee, etc.; see Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, chap. vii, p. 442.

<sup>5</sup> *Ord. urb. nob.*, 157-62. Cf. G. D. Hadzsits, "Aphrodite and the Dione Myth," *Amer Jour. Phil.*, XXX, pp. 38-53.



the Cévennes, according to Gregory of Tours,<sup>1</sup> was the object of a cult of considerable magnitude, which lasted several days; on the fourth day, he says, there arose "tempestas cum tonitruo et coruscatione valida; et in tantum imber ingens cum lapidum violentia descendebat ut vix se quisquam eorum (of the people) putaret evadere." The Dea (S)Dirona, found on the cippus at Sainte-Fontaine in 1751,<sup>2</sup> and frequently mentioned by the side of Apollo,<sup>3</sup> is presumably a similar personage.

If now we turn to Holder,<sup>4</sup> we find the goddess *Dēvōna* associated prominently with three fountains in Gaul: (1) Cahors, where the name was given the Fontaine des Chartreux; (2) Bordeaux, where it is latinized to *Dīvōna*,<sup>5</sup> and (3) Divonne in the *dép. Ain, arrond. Gex*. According to Holder, Dianna = Divonne-Fontaine, *dép. Yonne(?)*, and Diona, from which La Vione developed, are presumably the same name.

In the form Dibona it occurs in the highly interesting inscription published by Jullian in the *Revue celtique* (1898) and recently again by Mr. Nicholson.<sup>6</sup> The inscription, which is Pictavian, "is engraved on two sides of a leaden tablet . . . found in 1887 in a well at Rom, about thirty-eight kilometers southwest of Poitiers. In the same well were fifteen similar tablets, but uninscribed. M. Jullian says:<sup>7</sup> 'C'était l'usage, dans l'antiquité gréco-romaine, de confier non seulement à des tombes, mais à la mer, aux fleuves et même aux sources des puits les tablettes adressées aux divinités infernales et sur lesquelles les dévots avaient tracé leurs souhaits ou leurs exécutions.'" The translation, according to Mr. Nicholson, runs:

## 1

For thought's love, ever-continuing Caticatona, to-servants [of thine] be flow-strong; since servants [-of-thine] are-going-round.

<sup>1</sup> *Liber de gloria confessorum*, chap. ii.

<sup>2</sup> Bertrand, *Relig. des Gaulois*, fig. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also *Revue celtique*, IV, p. 6, and Holder, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz*.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, s. v. *Dēvōna*: "abgeleitet von *deivo-s* gott. 'die göttliche, glänzende.'" See Roscher, *op. cit.*, p. 1002: "Diana ist ursprünglich zwar nicht Mondgöttin, aber Lichtgöttin gewesen und als solche weiter Schützerin u. Patronin der Fruchtbarkeit im Pflanzenreich, Tierreich und unter den Menschen."

<sup>5</sup> "An lat. *divos* angelehnte Form."

<sup>6</sup> *Celtic Researches*, London, 1904, pp. 131 ff.

<sup>7</sup> This view is upheld by Bertrand who says (*op. cit.*, p. 195): "Ces divinités sont gallo-romaines, assimilées ou assimilables aux divinités du panthéon grec et latin."

Be gracious, Dibona. With-this, goddess kind! With-this, pure one! with-this, joyous-one! Sueio is going-round: with-this, maiden continual! his servant Ponti-dunna [daughter-] of-Vouso(s).

## 2

Swell! we pray: today forthstretch thee, today forthstretch thee, to this beloved tribute!

We-two drink at this thy-own well: thee have-we-loved — forthstretch! Going-round daily at mid-day, "Swell!" we pray:

For this tribute, Imona, to-[thy-] servants be outreach[ing] qu[ic]k.

Thus we have (1) an invocation by an unknown man and his female servant to a well-goddess, who is called (2) Caticatona, Dibona, or Imona, for (3) an increase of water, accompanied by (4) their daily procession around the well at noon. With the *Yvain* in mind—cf. especially, previous article, p. 273—we seem to be on familiar ground. The inscription is dated about the third century A. D. (not earlier than 293); that is, in Roman not Celtic<sup>1</sup> times, though it may, of course, represent a Celtic survival. Caticatōnā, apparently meaning "very white," is equally applicable, says Mr. Nicholson, to a village or a fountain goddess; Dībonā is Ausonius' fountain-deity Dīvona, corresponding to Dēvona; and Imōnā (cf. Lat. *īmus*, "deep-dwelling") is another name of the same divinity.

The last name, I believe, gives us an important clue. Unless I am quite mistaken it is preserved in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Imāne von der Beāfontāne*. Martin<sup>2</sup> says "*Imāne* ist wohl eine der *Pucelles as puits*." Her French name would be *Imaine* (cf. *fontāne* = *fontaine*). The passage where she is mentioned is found at the beginning of Bk. III:<sup>3</sup>

"zwêne ritter unde ein magt  
dā riten hiute morgen.  
diu frouwe fuor mit sorgen:  
mit sporn si vaste ruorten,  
die die juncfrouwen fuorten."  
ez was Meljahkanz  
den ergâhte Karnahkarnanz

<sup>1</sup> The fact that the inscription is in Pictavian does not, however, *prove* that it refers to a Celtic custom. Cf. Jullian's remark.

<sup>2</sup> *Parzival*, II, p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> 125, 15.

mit strite er im die frouwen nam:  
 diu was dâ vor an freuden lam.  
 sie hiez Imâne  
 von der Beâfontâne.

In other words, two knights, one of whom is familiar to us as Meleaganz (cf. *Charrete, passim*; *Yvain*, vs. 4742) are contending over this lady of the fountain, Imâne or originally Imona.

All of this was unknown to me in 1905. But at that time I did suggest tentatively that there might be a connection between Laudine de Landuc and Ydain de Landuc of the sparrow-hawk adventure in *Durmart li Gallois*,<sup>1</sup> which showed where the juncture of the fairy-mistress and the fountain themes lay. In *Erec* the sparrow-hawk incident takes place at Lalut,<sup>2</sup> not unlike Landuc. In *Yvain* the Castle of Ill Adventure in a way repeats the *Joie de la Cour* episode of the *Erec*. And Laudunet, the father of Laudine,<sup>3</sup> who hails from Landuc, is king of a red city—a Celtic otherworld abode. My point was that Laudine, by being the object of a combat, thus became assimilated to the fairy-mistress theme. The fact that we possess an independent fountain-combat, in which Imâne bears witness to its primitive character, is an argument in favor of my former hypothesis.

To return now to our Gallo-Roman fountain of Imona or Dibona—what light, if any, does it throw on the *Yvain*? It lacks the storm, and the goddess does not appear to be in need of defense since no combat is even suggested. On the other hand, it is possible that Crestien's haughty patroness put some story about Dibona or one of her congeners into the poet's hands, especially if it could be shown that she was versed in the folklore of her mother's—Eleanor's—home; for Poitou was a region where Celtic and Roman customs may have long survived.<sup>4</sup> But we are not compelled to assume—in order to understand the nature of Crestien's source—that he made use of this particular fountain-tradition, any more than we need to produce a specifically Gallic Dibona myth to see that our romance and the Italic story have very striking elements in common. The mere existence of the Dibona cult, the frequent occurrence of such names as Divonne, etc., the

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Stengel, vss. 2005 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Vss. 393 ff. and 6249 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Yvain*, vss. 2151-53.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Grande encyclopédie*, s. v. "Poitiers."

fact that the inhabitants of Gaul worshiped Diana,<sup>1</sup> the precise references to her worship at Evreux in 1080, and earlier at Trèves,<sup>2</sup> the inscriptions bearing her name and its phonetic similarity to Dibona, besides the resemblance of cult—this, it seems to me, is ample testimony to estimate the approximate basis of Crestien's fountain-tale. It sprang from a nature-cult of the kind celebrated on the Rom tablet or of that elaborated in the Diana myth.<sup>3</sup> So much our evidence seems to me to prove, and I do not see how circumstantial evidence, and our evidence on the *Yvain* has never been other than circumstantial, can prove more.

Furthermore, at present it is best to assume that our romance incorporates a Gallo-Roman—and not an insular Celtic—cult. The only insular Celtic parallel we have is the elaborate story of the *Gilla Decair*,<sup>4</sup> which to our knowledge exists in no MS previous to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my previous article, and references below.

<sup>2</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Eccles. Francorum*, VIII, 15: "Deinde territorium Trevericae urbis expetii, et in quo nunc estis monte, habitaculum quod cernitis proprio labore construxi. Reperi tamen hic Dianae simulacrum, quod populus hic incredulus quasi deum adorabat," etc. Trèves here is plainly the modern Trier. There is, however, a Trèves in Anjou between Saumur and Angers, the *Trebes* near which was the *lac de Diane* of the *Merlin*; cf. first article, p. 275; also Brugger, *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, XXXIII (1908), pp. 172, 181. Evreux is just south of Rouen, and Amiens, the diocese of St. Eloi (cf. below), is north of Paris. As for the fountain-cult, we have Rom near Poitiers, Bordeaux and Cahors to the east-southeast of Bordeaux. North-northeast of Cahors is Tulle where the Lunade (cf. below) was celebrated.

<sup>3</sup> For the distribution of oriental (Roman) cults in Gaul, see especially: F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments de Mithra*, I, pp. 340-89, and C. H. Moore, *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.*, XXXVIII (1907), p. 140.

Professor F. M. Warren calls my attention to Vacandard's "L'Idolâtrie en Gaule au VI<sup>e</sup> et au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Rev. des ques. hist.*, LXV, pp. 424-55. I reproduce from it the following citations taken from the *Vita Eligii*, lib. II, chap. xv, in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, LXXXVII, col. 528, 529: "Qu'aucun chrétien n'observe quel jour il sort de chez lui, ni quel jour il y entre, car Dieu a fait tous les jours . . . que nul ne croie aux devineresses et ne s'assoie pour écouter leurs chants, car ce sont des œuvres diaboliques; que nul, à la Saint-Jean, ou aux autres fêtes de saints, aux solstices, ne pratique les danses, les sauteries, etc.; que nul n'invoque *aut Neptunum, aut Orcum, aut Dianam, aut Minervam, aut Geniscum, aut caetera, hujusmodi ineptia credere*. . . . Que nul n'allume des flambeaux ni ne fasse des vœux au pied des temples, *fana*, auprès des pierres, des fontaines, des arbres, des enclos, ou dans les carrefours. . . . Que nul n'invoque le soleil et la lune comme des dieux et ne jure par eux, car ce sont des créatures de Dieu. . . . Laissez là les fontaines et coupez les arbres qu'on appelle sacrés; défendez de faire ces images de pieds que l'on place aux embranchements des routes, et partout où vous en trouverez, jetez-les au feu. Quelle tristesse de voir que, si ces arbres, près desquels de malheureuses gens font des vœux, viennent à tomber, on n'ose les rapporter à la maison pour en faire du feu. Et combien grande est la folie des hommes qui rendent un culte à un arbre insensible et mort, et qui méprisent les commandements de Dieu!"

Nothing could show more clearly to what extent the cult of the fountain, tree, and moon-goddess was still alive in the north of Gaul (diocese of Amiens) at the beginning of the seventh century of our era. On Diana, see especially pp. 450-53. On Janus, her compeer according to Frazer (see below), consult p. 447.

<sup>4</sup> *Ivain*, p. 104, and above.

the eighteenth century, though the version may be as early as 1630. But the *Gilla Decair* has such remarkable agreements with the completed *Yvain* that to deny the influence of a version of the latter upon it requires an effort of the imagination, especially as there is an eighteenth-century Irish *Yvain*, the *Echtra Ridire na Leoman* in Trinity College, Dublin.<sup>1</sup> And granting that to be a matter of opinion, incapable of proof in one direction or the other, surely no one will deny that it is impossible to take an eighteenth-century MS as our sole testimony of what may have occurred before or during the twelfth century. Yet we should be doing precisely this, if we accepted the *Gilla Decair* as proof of the insular Celtic origin of our fountain-tale. On the other hand, we have the Imona-cult persisting in *Parzival* and an identification of Diana with the Lady of the Lake in the *Prose Lancelot*, which, together with the relationship of Lunete and Niniane in the *Livre d'Artus* and of Diana and Niniane in the *Merlin*, shows that even as late as the thirteenth century it was possible in France to identify a fountain-story with the Diana theme.<sup>2</sup>

The cult of Dibona (Imona) as found near Poitiers in the third or fourth century plainly belonged to the kind of cult which Frazer considers in his *Golden Bough*. The Rom tablet appeals to the goddess to send forth her waters. Thus Dibona is a water goddess, but like Diana and Juppiter she probably is a fire-deity, too. In early rites the two functions are commonly united; moreover, how else explain the line:

"Going round daily at mid-day,"

unless we take it to refer to her capacity as the mid-day demon.<sup>3</sup> We find it again in *Yvain*, vss. 410-12:

Espoir si fu tierce passee  
Et pot estre pres de midi  
Quant l'arbre et la chapele vi.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zimmer, *Gött. gelch. Anzeige*, 1890, p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> See my article in *Modern Philology*, III, p. 275; also the *Prose Lancelot*, 1520 ed., fol. 2d, and Gaston Paris and Ulrich, *Merlin*, I, p. lxviii; II, p. 145; as well as Sommer, *Merlin*, p. 222; Löseth, *Tristan en prose*, p. 374.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup>, III, p. 315; Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- u. Feldkulte*<sup>2</sup>, Berlin, 1904, I, chap. iii: "Die Baumseele als Vegetationsdemon," and Gruppe, *op. cit.*, § 264, "Baumfetische."

More recently Frazer remarks: "The difference between these deities was of old merely superficial, going little deeper than the names, and leaving practically unaffected the essential functions of the god." These were concerned with the dependence of vegetation upon heat and moisture, sunshine and rain. The tree-spirit, Diana Nemorensis or Juppiter Arborator, embodied the two properties upon which vegetable, and indirectly human, life depended. And their creative act was symbolized in the mating of Juppiter with Juno, Diana with Dianus (or Janus).<sup>1</sup> The priest of Nemi represents no other than this consort, the *rex nemorensis*, and he is slain in the bloom of youth and succeeded by the slayer in order that Nature may not suffer. Herein lay the deeper meaning of the defense of Diana's lake and grove.<sup>2</sup>

It is surprising, as I pointed out in 1905, to what a large extent this situation is reproduced in Crestien's romance.

1. The rain-making device; cf. also the fire-demon traits.
2. The union of goddess and defender.
3. The defense of spring and tree.
4. The death of the first defender.
5. The rapid selection of his assailant as the next defender.<sup>3</sup>

The present material bears out this interpretation; in the Dibona cult and in the *perron*-incident associated with the Roman Juppiter. In the mediaeval form the latter feature seems to be characteristic of Broceliande.<sup>4</sup> Scholarly opinion has been somewhat divided as to Crestien's relationship to the Armorican fountain.<sup>5</sup> A verbal correspondence to Wace's *Roman de Rou* (vss. 6418 ff.) made it appear for a moment that Crestien had merely developed a hint from his contemporary. Even in that event we may assume that the *perron*-incident is an Armorican tradition, for the many references to Broceliande speak in favor of a folk-tradition independent of literary transmission.<sup>6</sup> So that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the *Dionas* in the *Merlin*; E. Brugger, *op. cit.*, pp. 154, 174.

<sup>2</sup> Frazer's works, *The Golden Bough*<sup>3</sup>, *Lectures on the Early History of Kingship*, and *Adonis, Attis and Osiris*, treat the question fully; cf. indices.

<sup>3</sup> *Modern Philology*, III, 274, 275.

<sup>4</sup> Bérenton in Brittany.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Iwain*, chap. vii.

<sup>6</sup> Foerster<sup>3</sup>, p. xxxi, says: "Was nun unsere Sturmquelle betrifft, so ist aus der wörtlichen Entsprechung zwischen Wace und dem späteren Iwain mit Sicherheit zu schliessen, dass Kristian sich dieselbe aus Wace geholt hat." See, however, Brown, *Iwain*, p. 23. Obviously Crestien may have known Wace and the Bérenton tradition as well. Moreover, Foerster

whether Crestien was here influenced by Wace or not, the Armorican "*perron-storm-story*" apparently existed in a separate popular form. Thus it is probable that Crestien (or a predecessor) identified a developed fountain-myth with the Armorican fountain, whose curious property was widely known in his day. The medium of identification may have been the storm, this would agree with the fountain-lady's primitive function as a vegetation deity and also include the idea of protection against intruders; but its sudden violent character must be mainly due to the magic *perron*<sup>1</sup> itself, and in the folk-tradition of Bérenton I find no mention of Crestien's tree, though the well-known passage in Maury's *Histoire* states that "la terre et les biens étans en ycelle en sont arousez et moult leur prouffite."<sup>2</sup> As I have previously said the *märchenhafte Gestalt*<sup>3</sup> of the Giant Herdsman represents a *motif* originally distinct from the fountain theme,<sup>4</sup> as its absence from Arthur's fountain visit shows. The Giant Herdsman, in my opinion—and I am here following Brown—belongs to the Celtic Fairy Mistress tale, which by Crestien (or possibly his predecessor) was interwoven with the fountain myth.

On the contrary, the "wonderful tree" (vss. 412, 460, 807) has its roots in the original theme.<sup>5</sup> In fact, the tree logically antedates the fountain, for strictly speaking it is the *raison d'être* of the situation in which the story began.<sup>6</sup> But unquestionably it may have been adorned with traits borrowed from the Brendan legend, for that is in line with story-development. In the "type," however, the defender incorporated for the time being the tree-spirit; he played the part of the tree-god. "We conclude,"<sup>7</sup> says

is not justified in claiming that Crestien is responsible for the storm simply because Wace and the passage in Maury's *Histoire* "blos Regen kennen," since that is a mere detail which may be due to attenuation of the storm and, as Baist, *loc. cit.*, has shown, Crestien could not have evolved the whole first part of his romance out of Wace's description. Nevertheless Wace may have furnished a hint; cf. previous study, p. 269; he mentions the *perron*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted from Foerster<sup>3</sup>, p. xxvi; the chevalier Pontus who "fit ses armes" at Bellenton is a classical figure. See also P. Paris, *Romans de la table ronde*, II, p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Baist, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> It can, however, also be brought into connection with the tree-cult. This is done by Mannhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 117, where he refers directly to the Giant Herdsman.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*; Mannhardt, *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Vs. 413: Quant l'arbre et la chapele vi.

<sup>7</sup> *Kingship*, pp. 283 ff.

Frazer, "that at Nemi the King of the Wood personated the oak-god Juppiter and mated with the oak-goddess Diana in the sacred grove." Now the tree in *Yvain* is not an oak but a pine. Yet that might be a local characteristic in no way affecting its nature as a sacred tree. In the parallel Egyptian cult the pine is the incorporation of Osiris:

A pine-tree having been cut down, the center was hollowed out, and with the wood thus excavated an image of Osiris was made, which was then buried like a corpse in the hollow of the tree. It is hard to imagine how the conception of a tree tenanted by a personal being could be more plainly expressed.<sup>1</sup>

Likewise in Rome at the great spring festival of Cybele and Attis a pine (sacred to Attis) "was cut in the woods and brought into the sanctuary of Cybele, where it was treated as a great divinity."<sup>2</sup> It may seem a far cry from the Phrygian Attis and the Egyptian Osiris to the mediaeval French *Yvain*, yet it is known that the worship of the Magna Mater,<sup>3</sup> the Asiatic goddess of fertility, was carried by Roman civilization not only into Gaul but into Celtic Britain. Her male counterpart and associate was Attis. Gregory of Tours refers to her in the *Liber de gloria confessorum*, chap. lxxvii: the people of Autun used to carry her about in a cart for the good of the fields and the vineyards.<sup>4</sup>

The tamarisk and the sycamore (cf. this tree in Old French), however, are also sacred to Osiris, and it is worth recording, as throwing light on the evolution of the tree-incident in *Yvain*, that in a sepulcher at How (Diapolis Parva) a tamarisk is depicted as overshadowing the tomb of Osiris, while a bird is perched among the branches with the significant legend "the soul of Osiris," "showing that the spirit of the dead god was believed to haunt

<sup>1</sup> Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris*, p. 276; Hopding, *Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult* (Giessen, 1903); Plumptre, *Narrative of a Three Years' Residence in France* (London, 1810), III, 187 (cf. *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 157, 158) mentions a Breton tale in which Merlin's mistress incloses him in a tree; some surmise that it is on a little island called Sein. Cf. the fig-tree of Fécamp with the blood of Christ in it.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 166.

<sup>3</sup> Adopted by the Romans in 204 B. C. According to Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 131, the taurobolium was introduced into Gaul at Lugdunum (Lyons) in 160 A. D.; see *ibid.*, p. 137, for places where Dendrophori are attested.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Frazer, *Adonis*, p. 176; Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 130; Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, vss. 1463, 1466.



his sacred tree."<sup>1</sup> I mention this fact for what it seems to me to be worth here; namely, as indicating the pertinence of the tree-incident, including the "singing-birds," to our fountain-tale. In addition, the threatened burning of Lunete at the stake (cf. *Modern Philology*, III, p. 275, for my argument) is, when we admit that Lunete symbolizes the tree-spirit, appropriate to the same category of primitive custom.<sup>2</sup> It was an almost universal custom to burn the tree-spirit in effigy, a practice which survives in the bonfires of St. John's Eve, the date of Arthur's visit to Laudine, and the time when Merlin sought out his love Niniane by the fountain in the beautiful orchard.<sup>3</sup>

Thus the evolution of the *Yvain* presents itself to us somewhat as follows:<sup>4</sup> (a) A Gallic fountain-cult, probably associated with a sacred tree or grove. Cf. Renel, *Religions de la Gaule*, pp. 153 ff., and especially Mannhardt, *op. cit.*, *passim*. (b) An etiological myth based on this cult, probably under the influence of a Roman myth in a form similar to the Diana tale. If not under its direct influence, then at least early assimilated to it. (c) The combination, or perhaps confusion through the incident of the combat in behalf of the lady, of this theme with the Celtic fairy-mistress *motif*<sup>5</sup>—presumably by the twelfth-century roman-

<sup>1</sup> On the sacred-tree worship in Gaul, see above, note.

<sup>2</sup> See O. Gruppe, *Handbuch der griech. Mythologie*, p. 1530; Frazer, *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup>, III, p. 266.

<sup>3</sup> *Modern Philology*, III, p. 276.

<sup>4</sup> I expect to treat the *Yvain* again in an extended study I am now making on the Grail.

<sup>5</sup> See the very interesting treatment of Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 27. Since Foerster<sup>3</sup>, p. xxxvi, has recently conceded a point by taking the Iblis episode of the *Lanzelet* (ed. Hahn, Frankfurt, 1845) as a point of departure, it is necessary to refer to it here, especially since Golther has expressed (*Zeit. franz. Spr. u. Lit.*, XXVII, Part II, p. 36) a preference for this view over that of Brown. The Iblis episode belongs to the general category, which Brown investigates, of the fairy-mistress tale, but with the emphasis on the "liberation" motive (cf. Ehrismann, *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. deut. Spr. u. Lit.*, XXX, pp. 14 ff.). This motive is found in *Yvain* but in the episode of the "Pesme Aventure" (vss. 5107-5811). In *Erec Crestien* uses both it and the "invitation" motive—in the "Joie de la Cour." Now, in my opinion, the Laudine episode, which constitutes the kernel of the romance, is not in itself a fairy-mistress story at all. For these reasons: (a) Neither the "liberation" nor the "invitation" motive are found in it. Yvain goes to the fountain to avenge his cousin ("J'irai vostre honte vangier," vs. 589); Laudine does not need to be liberated. Moreover, not having summoned him, Laudine is not in love with Yvain. In fact, all the advances are made by Yvain and Lunete, and it is not until the latter persuades her that her fountain needs a defender ("Mes me dites, si ne vos griet, Vostre terre qui deffandra," vss. 1614, 1615) and that Yvain is a better defender than her dead lord ("meillor, se vos le volez prandre," vs. 1610) that Laudine finally considers him. (b) The "gong" which announces the fairy-mistress combat does not serve this purpose in *Yvain* (vs. 217), and is wholly extraneous to

cers themselves, of whom Crestien was one. (d) Crestien's interpretation of this material in terms of his day: a schoolman's attempt to psychologize on conduct.<sup>1</sup>

In the light of the preceding material my former suggestion that Lunete and Laudine equate (la) Diana, and that the Dameisele Sauvage equates Silvanus or Silvana, seems to me to hold as a general proposition. But I should no longer claim that Laudine is actually a *form* of Ladiane, whether celticized or not. It would be easier, indeed, to discern an altered La Dīvōnā (from which we have also la Diiona) in Laudine; but even that is merely a guess, hence of no particular value. But as regards Lunete,<sup>2</sup> it seems to me the very form of the name is suggestive, for if we follow the bent of our theory we think at once of Diana as the luminary of the night in whose keeping the invisible-making ring is singularly well placed.<sup>3</sup> As regards the Dameisele Sauvage, she is clearly

the main story, evidently being brought in when the fountain-tale and fairy-mistress episodes were combined, as I believe, by Crestien himself.

As for the parallel which Foerster, p. xli, adduces from the *Huon de Bordeaux*, that is clearly an imitation (reminiscence) of our romance. See Voretzsch, *Epische Studien*, I, p. 138, "So erweist sich dies abenteuer in sehr wesentlichen stücken als eine reminiscenz an Ivains erlebnisse im schloss bei der wunderquelle, daneben hat vermutlich der *Guiglois* noch mit-gewirkt." Lunete's part is taken by Sebile; see below. p. 163, n. 1.

But I wish to point out that Esclados, as the Red Knight, has a parallel in the knight of the Noirespine of Türlin's *Crône* (vss. 3356-4885). This is also the main incident of the *Lai de l'Épine* (ed. by R. Zenker, *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, XVII, pp. 240 ff.); here the combat, like Arthur's visit in *Yvain*, occurs on St. John's eve.

Cele dist: Au gué de l'espine  
À la nuit de la Saint-Johan  
En avient plus que en tot l' an.—Vss. 188-90.

The *Yvain* itself, vs. 4705, has an episode about the daughters of the *Sire de la Noire Espine*.

<sup>1</sup> To this stage belong the neo-classic traces in the romance. For an account of them see *Kritischer Jahresbericht d. rom. Phil.*, VIII, Heft 2, p. 313. Most interesting is the parallel to the *Roman de Thèbes*, vss. 447-49; cf. Van Hamel, *Rom. Forschungen*, XXIII, pp. 911-18. It seems plausible that this contributed to induce Crestien to develop the dramatic situation in Laudine's forced acceptance of the new defender of the fountain. That, however, is another way of saying that the fountain-episode contained the theme which Crestien had the genius to find in it and to develop.

<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately I have not at hand the *Mémoires de l'Institut de France*, XXXII (1891), 2d part. Professor Warren kindly informs me that the publication contains an article by Deloche on the *Procession dite de la Lunade et les feux de la St. Jean à Tulle* (Corrèze). Apparently the procession takes place after sun-down on St. John's Eve, and the people carry a dressed-up statue of St. John from the cathedral through the town into the fields, "in the midst of bonfires." The author connects the ceremony with the Gallo-Roman worship of the moon. Cf. the sermon of St. Éloi mentioned above.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the damsel from whom Peredur in the *Mabinogion* receives the invisible-making stone. Also Crestien's *Charrete*, vs. 2348; *Merlin* (ed. Paris and Ulrich), II, p. 57, and P. Paris, *Romans de la table ronde*, III, p. 126; IV, p. 80. Further, Gaidoz, *Études de myth. gauloise*, pp. 8, 19. Wilmotte, *L'Évolution du roman français aux environs de 1150*, p. 24, thinks the ring was taken from the *Roman de Troie* (vss. 1676 ff.)

a woodland creature.<sup>1</sup> But why not then one of the Silvana with which the Gallic woods were peopled (cf. the inscriptions)? She plays a curious rôle in Crestien (vs. 1618). Except for Arthur's visit she might have been omitted. Yet Arthur does not meet the Hospitable Host or the Giant Herdsman and so she heralds his coming. Have we not here a memory of the time when the two other rugged figures still inhabited Celtic lands and she held a broader sway? And does she not linger in our tale more or less in spite of the literal-minded Crestien?

For the above reasons it has seemed to me possible to trace the Lady of the Fountain back to small beginnings—in a widespread nature-worship of primitive man. The *Yvain* centers about a fountain, from the necessity of whose preservation the story sprang. The most notable and most widely known fountain-deity we have is the Arician Diana. With her myth the *Yvain* has more points in common than with any similar story now extant. Whether it had an early association with it is impossible to tell. It appears more likely that the *Yvain* arose in connection with some Gallic fountain<sup>2</sup> and was then developed according to a situation similar to the Italic type. If there was any immediate borrowing, that may have occurred at a comparatively late date—for we know a Diana cult<sup>3</sup> was current in Gaul. But on that very account it

<sup>1</sup>See especially Mannhardt<sup>2</sup>, *op. cit.*, p. 112, §10, *Wild-Leute: Bilmon, Salvadegh, Salvanel in Wälsch-Tirol*: "Die entsprechende weibliche Form lässt sich bereits im 10. Jahrhundert aus Burchard von Worms Decretensammlung, p. 198d (*Myth.*<sup>1</sup>, XXXVIII) erweisen: Credidisti quod quidam credere solent, quod sint agrestes feminae, quas silvaticas vocant, quas dicunt esse corporeas et quando voluerint ostendant se suis amatoribus et cum eis dicunt se oblectasse et item quando voluerint abscondant se et evanescent." Cf. Diana and Faunus in the *Huth Merlin*, below.

<sup>2</sup>I want to call attention here to the suggestion of Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1886, p. 63, that the name *Yvain* (*Iwein*) can be derived from *Eugenius* (see also Zimmer, *Gött. gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1890, p. 527); and the further connection he sees between the latter form and the "Gaulish" proper name *Esugenus*=the offspring of *Esus*. For *Esus*, whom the Gauls identified with the Roman *Silvanus* (cf. Mowat, *Bull. épigraph.*, I, pp. 62-63)—this opinion seems to have prevailed, see Renel, *op. cit.*, p. 321—is depicted on certain bas-reliefs as a wood-cutter chopping down an oak. According to Solomon Reinach, *Rev. celtique*, 1897, pp. 137 f., *Esus*, like the *Taranis* mentioned by Lucan, *Pharsalia*, I, 444, in connection with *Diana*: "Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro Teutates horrendusque feris altaribus *Esus* et *Taranis* Scythicae non mitior ara *Dianae*," is not a pan-Celtic divinity but peculiar to the peoples living between the Seine and the Loire. I observe, moreover, that M. Renel states with respect to the tree-cutting: "Ce mythe n'a pas encore reçu d'explication satisfaisante." Since a dog is at times found associated with him, as with *Silvanus*, Rhys' hypothesis seems not improbable; though I am incapable of judging the question without further study.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Miss Paton, *Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance* (Boston, 1903), pp. 276 ff.

may be inherent in the story. All I have sought to establish, however, is that the kernel of the *Yvain* consists in the Defense of the Lady of the Fountain,<sup>1</sup> the theme of the Arician Diana-myth. Despite the lapse of time, and the successive alterations

<sup>1</sup>The fusion of Celtic and Roman material, of course, gains further support from the episode of "the lion." Mr. O. M. Johnston, *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, XXXI, 157-66, makes out a clear case for assuming that the oriental tale of the *Grateful Animals* and the legend of Androcles influenced the story as Crestien relates it. Cf. Cumont, *Monuments*, II, p. 434, for an altar at Trèves possibly dedicated to Hecate, on which a lion, a serpent (?), and trees figure, besides busts of Sol and Luna.

Various scholars have also hinted that the German *Wolfdietrich* contains a parallel to our romance. The character of the Rauhe Else at once suggests the exacting fairy-mistress. I enumerate the main features of the Else episode from Holzmann's edition (Heidelberg, 1865), stanzas 494 ff. (1) While *Wolfdietrich* is resting near a fire in the woods (2) a hairy-creature, *die ruhe Else*, approaches him and proffers her love. She had been seeking him *völlenglichen sieben jar*. (3) He rejects her, whereupon she enchants him so that he runs twelve miles through the woods until he meets her again *under einem boume*. (4) Here she repeats her offer, and, as he refuses again, renders him insane so that he wanders about for half a year taking his *spise von der erden* (see *Yvain*'s madness). (5) Finally, since God threatens to destroy her in three days by his thunder (*donre*)—cf. *Yvain*, vss. 3565 ff.—she removes the enchantment. Having accepted baptism, she bathes in a fountain whence she returns *die schönste über alle lant*. Then the hero weds her.

In the next episode, dealing with *Wolfdietrich*'s contest with Ortnid, a linden-tree is described beneath which no one may linger without being attacked (stanza 573). On the tree birds are singing:

Ein jeglicher vogel sang sin wise gen des meien blut.

Later on (stanza 1030) *Wolfdietrich* comes to a fine castle on every pinnacle except one of which there was a head. There he has to win the love of the beautiful Marpoli or die; five hun dred had thus lost their lives. The adventure begins with a repast under a metal linden-tree with birds on it; these are made to sing by means of a bellows. On this incident, see K. G. T. Webster, *Englische Studien*, XXXVI, pp. 337-69. And on the tree-spirit element, see Mannhardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 109 ff.

In connection with our study it should be noted further that the *Huth Merlin* (i. e., the so-called *Suite-Merlin*), II, p. 145, tells an interesting tale of Diana and Faunus, à propos of the *Lac de Diane* (near Trèves, see Brugger, *Zeit. f. franz. Spr. u. Lit.*, XXIII, p. 177): (1) Faunus, the son of a king, loves Diana because of her beauty and her skill as a huntress. (2) She constructs a *manoir* by the side of the lake for him. (3) Thus things continue for two years until she falls in love with Felix, another hunter but of poor lineage, a *chevalier par sa prouche* (p. 146). (4) Near the lake is a tomb filled with healing water; thither Faunus, wounded by a wild animal (cf. Acteon, Adonis, etc.), comes to be cured. (5) Diana, in the meantime, has filled the tomb with molten lead, whereby Faunus perishes. (6) Felix, learning of this act of treachery, seizes her *par les tresches et li caupa le chief*. The story is a good illustration of the persistence of the idea of Diana's successive lovers.

Finally, inasmuch as the *Vulgate Merlin* (see Sommer ed., pp. 220, 221) speaks of Diana as *la seraine de Cecille*, which according to Brugger was corrupted into *la reine de Sezile* (*loc. cit.*), I subjoin an outline of the presumably late *Eledus et Serene*, described by Suchier in *Zeitsch. rom. Phil.*, XXI, pp. 112 ff. (1) Serene, though promised to Maugrier, is loved by Eledus, who gradually wins her affection by deeds of great prowess. (2) She has a hand-maiden called Sebile, who is versed in the science of love (p. 119). (3) Eledus undertakes an adventure against Cuizelot on an island; for this adventure Serene gives him a ring set with a sapphire. Led by a stag, Eledus first kills a lion with a golden crown, and then conquers his adversary. (4) He returns to court and crowns the king with the lion's crown on St. John's Day. (5) Now Serene invents the rumor of Maugrier's infidelity and thus brings about her own marriage with Eledus. (6) One day while hunting, Eledus sees a beautiful lady in a meadow who asks him whether he has ever seen a more beautiful one than herself. He affirms he knows one a hundred times more beautiful. Nevertheless, she asks him to

the story may have suffered, this theme is still clearly discernible in Crestien's poem, pre-eminently in the conception of Laudine as the antithesis of herself, as

Cele qui prist  
Celui qui son seignor ocist.

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enjoy her love. (7) As he refuses, she threatens that in *xv jours* he will lose her whom he adores. (8) Then follows a long combat with Maugrier in the midst of which the text suddenly breaks off.

The situation is doubtless the Fairy Mistress theme, though this fact has not to my knowledge been mentioned. But Serene and Sebile are presumably not Celtic but Roman. Suchier refers us to the *Saga* of Clarus and Serena and to Straparola, IV, 3. Serene and Sebile, I take it, like Laudine and Lunete, are merely doublets. Sebile is the heroine of a similar contest-story in the *Livre d'Artus* (Freymond, pp. 112 ff.), where Sagremor and Baruc are the principals. She also occurs in *Huon de Bordeaux* (see Voretzsch, *op. cit.*), where she is the hero's cousin. She is presumably the *sibylla*, but could she not also be an echo of the goddess Cybele (whose cult existed in Gaul, see above)? Thus a parallel to Diana who is called *la seraine*? Unfortunately I have not at hand Settegast, *Antike Quellen im altfranz. Merowingerzyklus* (Leipzig, 1907), where the oriental Cybele-story is proposed as a source of the *Yvain*; cf. *Zeitschrift rom. Phil.* XXXII (1908), p. 416. Sebile (the *sibylla*) occurs in the *chanson de geste Mainet*; cf. *Romania*, IV, pp. 305-37.